1: Jenness--224 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 535, 292

"The Eskimos wear their finest clothes in the dance-house, clothes with coloured bands and tasselled fringes. They are often hung with trophies, such as the teeth or claws of a polar bear, or the knuckle-bones of the seal.(2) The white skin of the weasel, worn either on a parti-coloured dancing cap surmounted by a loon's bill or on the back of the coat, is a particularly favourite ornament. Relatives, especially wives, frequently borrow these ornaments when it comes to their turn to dance. Ikpakhuak wore a beautifully striped cap at a dance one evening; half an hour later his niece was wearing it; then soon afterwards his nephew. Fashion ordains the wearing of gloves while dancing, and whenever possible, even in the spring and summer, the feet should be shod with the winter shoes of white seal-skin, especially the kind called tuatuatsiak, which are crimped all round the bottom and have a black triangular insertion over the toes. Hence one occasionally sees a curious medley of costumes in the spring; some of the natives will be wearing their finest winter clothes, while others who have cached their property on the sea-shore are forced to appear in their oldest garments, with their feet tucked into long water-boots."

"2. A Prince Albert sound native wore at a dance a complete set of polar bear's claws suspended in pairs around his coat like a belt."

3: Rasmussen--130 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 292

"Everything is done to make the event [MPK: a sort of community sing held in the dancing house] as festive as possible; both men and women deck themselves out in special garments that gleam brightly with all the pretty inlays of white belly-skin, let in as patterns. Over back and shoulders the men have skins of white ermines that stream like pennants during their movements, and great pains have been taken in embroidering the boots of men and women with red and white strips of skin. On their heads they wear helmets of skin strips sewn together, with the beak of a loon sticking up like a spike at the top."

291
294

In these decorated outer coats the white front stained rather easily, and the high waist was unsuitable for travelling in cold weather because it gave inadequate protection to the stomach. The latter defect could be partly remedied by slightly lengthening the front of the inner coat so that it would overlap the trousers by several inches. This the Eskimo often did. Even so, however, they generally reserved the short-waisted outer coat for evening wear, or for occasions when they wished to appear well dressed; and they wore for working and midwinter travelling an outer coat of heavy winter caribou fur that was nearly as long in front as behind, and that carried no decoration beyond an occasional white armband.[1] Many natives at the east end of Coronation Gulf, and one or two at the west end, affected a compromise garment; they wore both at home, and when travelling, a coat of moderately light fur that in pattern and decoration conformed to the style of the short-waisted coat, and could, therefore, take its place on ceremonial occasions, but which reached in front nearly to the knees, sometimes even below, and adequately protected the body in stormy weather[2]; on warm days it was often "pinned up" by hooking loops of sinew from the bottom edge to small toggles of wood attached around the waist. These same natives, however, nearly always possessed the heavier, undecorated coat so serviceable for midwinter sealing, and even at times the short-waisted coat. In such cases they occasionally dispensed with a hood on the latter garment, as it was no longer needed for outdoor wear.

291
294
184

We encountered in Bathurst Inlet a native who had modelled his coat on the style current among the Back River and other Eskimo living inland on the Barren Grounds. The tail, instead of being narrow and rather oblong, was broad and rounded, and separated from the equally long and rounded front only by a deep slit up each side. Long strings of dehaired caribou skin hung in a close-set fringe from all the lower border.

292

Nearly all Eskimo men possessed still another outer coat, made not from caribou fur, but from the skin of the common foetid seal. It had the same shape as the heavy winter sealing and travelling coat, but was generally a little shorter, seldom reaching as far as the knees. It served primarily as a raincoat during the damp days of summer when caribou fur sheds its hair, but a few natives wore it also for sealing during the months of May and early June when the snow is wet and soggy. Naturally, it was never decorated; even its bottom edge was seldom trimmed evenly, but often retained the holes through which the green skins had been pegged out to dry (Figure 7).

[132]
[294]

291

Inner and Outer Trousers. In winter, men wore two pairs of caribou-fur trousers (*qaqlik*), with the fur of the inner, as usual, against the body, and the fur of the outer turned outwards; in summer they laid aside the outer pair and wore only the inner, still with its fur inward. Both were approximately of the same length, barely overlapping the tops of the stockings; occasionally the inner pair was one-half inch to an inch longer (Figure 8). This inner pair was not decorated in any way, but often had a fringe of long-haired fur around the bottom, to protect the knees, as neither the inner nor the outer trousers carried drawstrings to bind them around the legs. The inner were often made from the heavy winter fur of the caribou, whereas for the outer, light summer skins were preferred, except for midwinter sealing. Most outer trousers were decorated on the legs; some carried bands of coloured skin at the bottom similar to those on stockings (Figure 9); others, a wide edging of white fur, and two or three narrower bands above; others again, combined these two types of decoration, or displayed more palpable geometrical designs in white bands. Most of the outer trousers had a drawstring around the waist that issued at the back through two

291
294

[1] For a photograph of a native wearing such a garment See Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 88, p. 201.

[2] For a photograph See Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. B, Plate VII (lower right).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 20]

• 292

Figure 7. Man's sealskin "raincoat". IV.D.981. 1/8.

Sealskin Shoes. The creamy yellow shoes of dressed sealskin (*tuktukaluk*) that formed the outermost covering of the feet during the winter months, and were commonly worn around camp in the summer, contrasted pleasingly with the brown and white caribou fur in the rest of the costume. The Eskimo made their shoes on two patterns. One type, the easiest to make, was a plain shoe (*ukuvioqtak*) in which the whole upper part covering the instep was a separate piece attached to the sole by a seam around the edge of the foot. More decorative, and, therefore, always preferred for dances, was the second type (*tuatuatsiaq*), in which the sole was crimped over the toes and its edges joined to an inserted V-shaped "tongue", broad or narrow according to the fancy of the maker, and cut from brownish black, undressed sealskin that stood out prominently in its yellow setting. The two patterns are shown in Figure 10.

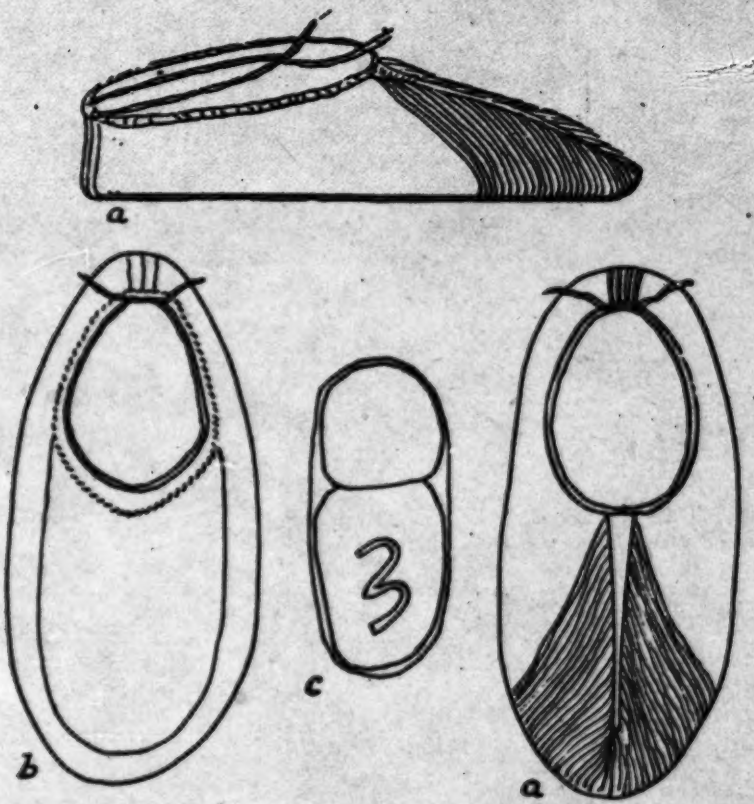

Figure 10. Sealskin shoes; *a*: crimped; *b*: plain; *c*: sole of *b* showing creases. IV.D.51, 1859.

In both types of shoes the sole was turned up over the heel, and either crimped (the tucks being threaded together with sinew knotted at both ends), or else slit, and, after the removal of one or more triangular sections, joined

291
281
294
[824]

shoe. In boots, however, this V-shaped piece was never narrow, as in many shoes, but covered most of the upper surface of the foot. The leg was sewn on last; besides the seam where it joined the foot, it bore a vertical seam up the front. The loops for the cord were an integral part of every waterboot, being carefully stitched in when the sole was sewn to its V-shaped upper. Grass insoles, such as were worn in waterboots by more western natives, were not current among the Copper Eskimo, whose short socks of seal and caribou fur fulfilled the same purpose.

One saw occasionally a hybrid type of boot, which had the sealskin foot of a waterboot but a leg of caribou fur, usually, if not always, taken from an outer stocking that had worn out in the sole. Boots of this type, like the boots with legs of haired sealskin, functioned only in the early spring and late autumn; from the beginning of June until October waterboots prevailed at all times, except that the low sealskin shoes served as slippers around camp.

292

Figure 13. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.773, 784. Approx. 1/3.

296 Boot soles, like the soles of shoes, were naturally reinforced with patches that demanded repair or replacement every 2 or 3 days when travelling over stony ground. As soon as the hunter returned to camp each evening his wife turned his boots inside out to dry, and, if necessary, soaked in a pot of urine enough sealskin to patch them in the early morning. Hide from the bearded seal lasted three or four times as long as hide from the foetid seal, but the Eskimo seldom possessed enough of the material.

Good waterboots, boots, that is to say, that would actually keep out the water, required very skilful sewing. If the thread gave out when making a seam the woman did not simply knot it and start afresh, but she carefully spliced a new thread into the end of the old; and she greased both the thread and the skin with blubber to prevent any tearing at the punctures. Men commonly tested a new pair of waterboots by standing in water, and unmercifully scolded their wives if the result proved unsatisfactory.

Figure 14. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.975, 772. Approx. 1/3.

Outer Stockings. The Copper Eskimo never wore an outer pair of stockings (*mitqolik*) except with sealskin shoes, because they were a needless encumbrance under the spring and summer boots. Like the latter, they reached to just below the knees, where either a casing was added or their upper edges stitched down to hold the cord of sinew that fastened in front of the leg and kept them in place. The outer side of the stocking, of course, was always furred. We may distinguish four varieties. The first and commonest, called simply *mitqolik* (Figure 13), was made from caribou leg skins, in which the hair lies flat and smooth; the second, *kamakpak*, from the body coat of the caribou, in which the

292 294 [192] hair is longer and stands out straighter, making the stocking seem very bulky. Fashion decreed that in this second variety there should be a streak of white fur down the inside of the leg. The third variety, also called, I believe, *kawakpak*, was made from less heavy body skin, and decorated at intervals with narrow bands of white fur that usually encircled the leg, but in some stockings ran vertically. This variety was quite popular, because it was serviceable for travelling, like the former two, and also acceptable in the dance house. [192] The real dancing stocking, which was rarely worn upon the trail, was the *kamakparyuk*, in which all or nearly all the leg was encircled by narrow parallel bands in three colours, white, red, and black or brownish black (Figure 14a). The white was given by close-clipped caribou fur or dressed sealskin, the black, by the natural colour of dehaired sealskin, darkened still more at times with galena, and the red, by dehaired sealskin stained with litharge.

Variations of these four types were not uncommon, for the Eskimo were quick to seize any new idea that presented itself. Thus, some stockings combined the characteristics of the third and fourth varieties; they were furred below the calf of the leg and decorated with one or more stripes of white-haired caribou skin, and above, they bore the parallel, coloured bands. Other stockings had two or three consecutive rows of coloured bands, usually black and white only, arranged at intervals down the furred legs. Illustrations of some of these variations are shown in Figures 13 and 14.

The feet of outer stockings were nearly always stitched from caribou leg skins, but the seams did not follow any definite pattern. One occasionally encountered feet made of haired sealskin, which were less warm than feet of caribou fur, but were not spoiled by the dampness that often penetrated through the sealskin overshoes from the soggy floor of the snow-hut.

Figure 13. Man's inner stocking. IV.D.23. 1/3.

291 294 [192]

Inner Stockings. The inner stockings (*alektik*) coincided in length with the outer but were nearly always made from the thick winter skin on the body of the caribou and worn with the fur inside. As they were normally invisible, and did not need to be attractive, they were often pieced together from sections of old coats, sleeping skins, and other articles. The seams, therefore, followed no definite patterns, except that one usually ran lengthwise down the middle of the sole, because this was the easiest way to shape the foot. They needed no cord around the top, being stiff enough to keep their shape even when they were not held up by the outer stockings or the boots (Figure 15).

291
[132]

[192]

[292]

Figure 18. Child's fawnskin cap. IV.D.933. 1/4.

Caribou fur socks were worn in winter and summer alike, over the inner stocking. When the snow began to melt in the early spring, and both the outer stockings of caribou fur and the sealskin shoes gave place to sealskin boots, the Eskimo wore over these caribou fur socks other socks of sealskin (*pinaqqak*), with the hair turned outside (Figure 17). Later in the season, again, when wandering inland over stony ground that was liable to blister the feet, they generally inserted socks of hairless sealskin (*kimisaituk*) between the other two (Figure 18). Both types of sealskin socks were made in exactly the same way as the caribou-fur ones.

Caps. Men very seldom wore caps, except the ceremonial caps for dances, but women used them occasionally, especially in summer when mosquitoes darkened the air, and children quite frequently at every season of the year. They were made generally from fawn or marmot fur, worn with the fur side outward; and in shape resembled a bonnet, often with lugs to protect the ears (Figure 19).

292

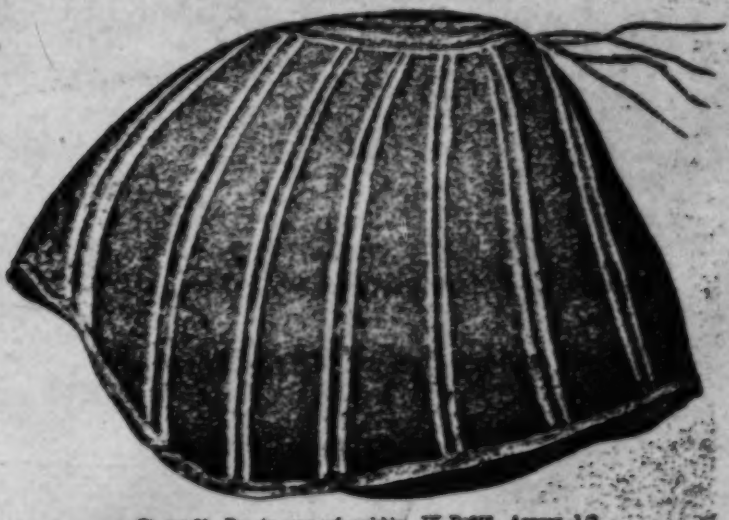

Figure 20. Dancing cap, of sealskin. IV.D.932. Approx. 1/2.

[554]
[426]

Dancing caps were luxuries restricted to influential natives, who nevertheless lent them freely to kinsmen, so that in the course of an evening's entertainment the same cap might appear on half a dozen heads, both men's and women's.

women's. Figure 20 shows a rather unusual type of dancing cap, made entirely from sealskin. Most were of short-haired caribou fur, decorated with parallel white bands, or with bands in white, red, and black exactly like outer stockings; many lacked even the fur base, the parallel bands forming the entire body of the cap. Here and there were attached clusters of creamy caribou-skin thongs, and to the crown a white weasel skin that trailed down behind (Figure 21). Inset in most caps, too, from one side to the other over the peak, was the head and neck of a loon, so split that the bill projected upward. Figure 22 shows a typical specimen.

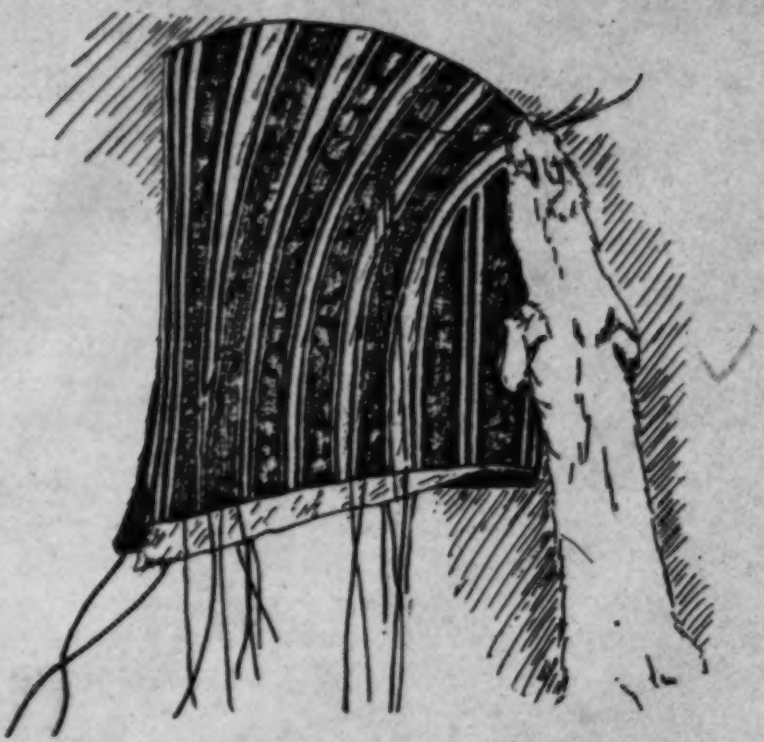

Figure 21. Dancing cap, of caribou fur, with lemming-skin pendant. IV.D.978. Approx. 1/2.

This loon-head ornament probably originated from the use of a complete loon-skin head-dress, such as was current on the Arctic coast of Alaska down to the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] I have never seen a specimen, but

[1] Cf. Simpson, John: The Western Esquimaux, a collection of papers on Arctic Geography and Ethnology reprinted and presented to the Arctic Expedition of 1875, p. 346, London, 1875.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

292
531
237

Figure 22. Dancing cap of caribou fur, with lemming-skin pendant and loon's bill. IV.D.977. Approx. 1/3

I have never seen a specimen, but a native of that region told me that the skin was split down the middle of the back so that the long wing feathers would fall over the dancer's shoulders. The bill, after careful cleansing, was whitened with gypsum, and, whenever possible, one of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril of the upstanding bill. The dancer also planted a long wing feather on the front of his head, and one on each side. Only the skin of a yellow-billed loon (*Gavia stellata*) was acceptable for such a head-dress; any other skin would have excited ridicule.

Mittens. The ordinary mittens (*poalluk*) were very short, covering the hands but leaving so much of the wrists bare that, unless protected by long coat sleeves, they were often severely frost-bitten. Adults seemed very indifferent to this defect, though they sometimes finished off the edges with long-haired fringes of white fur that afforded some slight protection; but mothers often lengthened the mittens of their children.

Most of the mittens were single, with fur on the outside only, where it covered the whole surface (Figure 23a). A few were made double to carry fur on both sides (Figure 23b); others had fur all over the outside, except on the palm, where it was inside (Figure 23c); and a type that usually bore two or three ornamental bands of white fur around the wrist, or across the back of it, had no fur at all on the palm, inside or outside (Figure 23d). The last type was much in vogue for dances because it furnished a better grip on the heavy drum-handle, but whether it developed on this account is not known.

Most short mittens were made from the brown summer skins of the caribou, but some were also made from the heavier white winter skins. Naturally only those made from the brown summer skins carried the insertions of white fur. One occasionally saw mittens of polar bear skin or sealskin, which were stiffer and (the sealskin ones at least) not so warm as caribou-fur mittens, but, unlike the latter, did not shed their fur with dampness. They were particularly serviceable, therefore, for such tasks as icing the sled runners.

If we leave out of consideration the white insertions just mentioned, every mitten was cut out in three pieces. One piece gave the palm and half the thumb; a second, the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb; and the third formed the whole back of the mitten. The general pattern can be seen in Figure 24.

Besides his short, everyday mittens each man owned a pair of long ones (*atqatik*) for working with snow, and especially for building the snow-hut (Figure 25). It was made, preferably, from the leg skins of the caribou, on which the long hair lies smooth and flat; and it covered the sleeve of the coat to about the middle of the forearm, where a sinew drawstring that passed through a narrow band of dehaired skin, doubled back and sewn all round the upper edge, checked the penetration of the snow. Being solely a working mitten (whence it commonly received another name, *anuktetik*, i.e., "working garment") it carried no ornamentation and was furred on the outside only. Like the shorter mitten, it was cut out in three pieces.

291
294

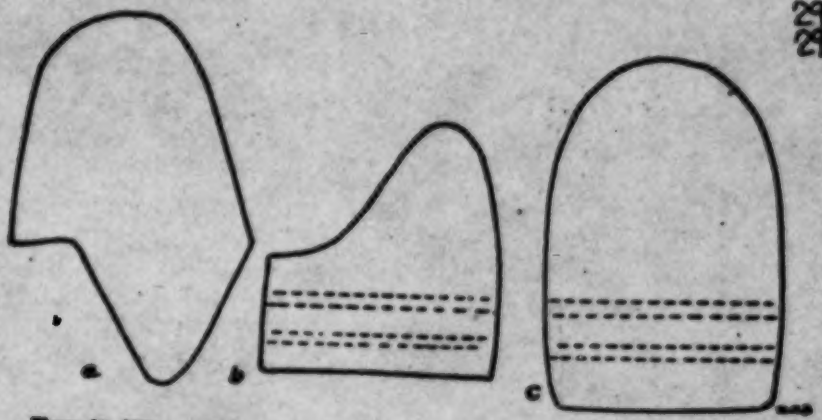

Figure 24. Mitten patterns; a: palm and part of thumb; b: part of thumb and wrist; c: back.

292
294

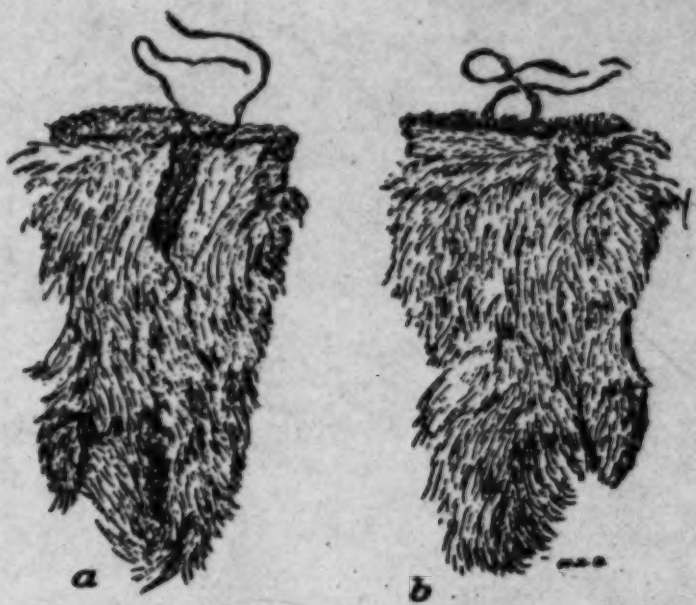

Figure 25. Man's long mittens, of caribou fur; a: front; b: back. IV.D.3888. 1/6.

Trousers. Women, like men, wore two pairs of trousers (*natikhak*) in winter, and only the inner pair in summer; but as their stocking covered more of the leg than the men's, their trousers were shorter and did not reach the knees.

The inner pair was rarely if ever decorated. The outer often had coloured stripes down the outside of each leg, and, in the middle of the front, a triangular gusset of white fur, with its two sides parallel to the white or coloured edges of the stockings. To enhance the symmetry of the arrangement these two sides also carried at times an edging of coloured bands (Figure 29).

So far as I know, women never used drawstrings on their trousers, but secured them with a sealskin thong fitted with loop and toggle.

Shoes, Socks, and Mittens. These were in no way different from those worn by men. Women, of course, did not possess the long working mittens that reached half-way up the forearm.

Waterboots. The woman's waterboot (Figure 29) had the shape of the stocking beneath it, which above the foot differed entirely from a man's boot or stocking. After fitting tightly around the ankle it expanded rapidly upward, attaining just above the knee a diameter of from 10 inches to over a foot. The outer side of the boot (or stocking) then tapered to form a wide strap that tucked over the belt holding up the trousers.

In the foot it did not differ from a man's boot. Like a man's, too, the leg had only one seam, straight up the middle; but in so large an expanse of skin there were generally two or three holes, from wounds and other causes, that required covering with round patches.

Outer Stockings. The waterboot replaced in summer the outer stocking (*ipiyu.k*) of caribou fur, which bore the same peculiar shape as the boot, but was frequently decorated after the manner of the man's outer stocking. Commonly all the upper edge, from the inside of the knee to the top of the strap that tucked into the belt, was bordered with several parallel rows in red, white, and black (either the black or the red, but more commonly the red, might be omitted). From the strap to the foot, down the front of the leg, ran another broad band, similarly coloured, and a third, or else two or three rather narrow bands inserted an inch or two apart, extended half-way around the ankle or completely encircled it (*See* Figure 31). There were numerous modifications of this pattern, however, as in the patterns on men's stockings. For example, the coloured stripes varied greatly in number; they were often replaced by broad or narrow bands of white caribou fur; and the decoration down the front of the leg was frequently omitted (*See* Figure 32).

The feet of both outer and inner stockings were made preferably from caribou leg skins, but not infrequently from marmot fur. In spring some women replaced them with feet of haired sealskin. The rest of the garment was derived from the body fur of the caribou.

Inner Stockings. These corresponded in shape with the outer, and bore the same name, *ipiyu.k*, but were almost invariably plain. In fact, I have seen only one decorated pair, a specimen that came from Prince Albert Sound. It bore the usual red, white, and black stripes, but they were inserted on the hairless, unattractive side, as the stocking was worn with the fur side in. Around the ankle was an additional design, the YII pattern that women tattooed on their arms and etched on their needle-cases, here produced by running stitches of very narrow sealskin (Figure 33). This design was very rare on garments, but occurred also on a woman's coat and on a pair of women's outer stockings that we bought in Coronation Gulf.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

• 292
531

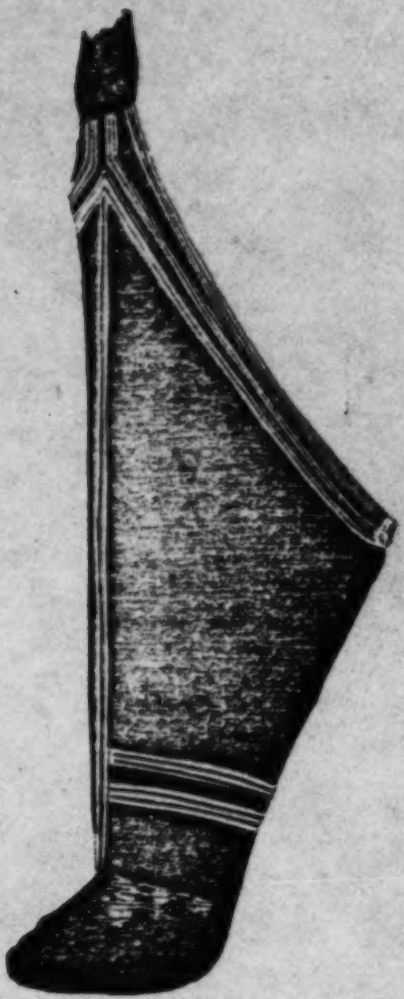

Figure 31. Woman's outer stocking. IV.D.880. Approx. 1/6.

292
E31

Figure 22. Woman's outer stocking. IV.D.1041. Approx. 1/8.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

nourished Icehouse wriggled in her bag for several minutes before she tumbled, like an enormous chrysalis, head foremost onto the floor.

We occupied a real snow-hut at the Lake of Dancing, one that had been erected by our companions a week or more before. Here we dismantled our caches of dried meat and dried fish, and recovered my sled, the big spring tent, and all the other things we had deposited at this place in the early days of summer. Foxes, worming their way through sundry chinks and crevices in the stones, had destroyed all the sinew fishing-lines; fortunately we had plenty of cod-line that could take its place. More serious was the destruction of the white-bellied caribou hides from which Icehouse had intended to make some finely ornamented costumes for the winter dances; but I assuaged her grief by promising to purchase other hides for her when the tribes reassembled at the sealing-grounds. We sighted one of the marauding foxes near our camp, and lured it within range by squeaking like a young bird; but Ikpuck's bullet struck only the ground between its legs, and, though deluged with snow, it escaped without injury.

After fishing in various lakes for a few days with little success we overtook our companions at the source of a creek that flows into Dryad Harbour. They had abandoned all further hunting and fishing on the land under the pressure of colder weather and were return-